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المؤسسة المالكة	المكتبة البريطانية: أوراق خاصة وسجلات من مكتب الهند
حق النشر	رخصة حكومة مفتوحة

حول هذا السجلّ

أعدت هذه المذكرة من قبل الحكومة في الهند بالإدارة الخارجية والسياسية في يناير ١٩١٧ وتهدف إلي أعطاء "لمحة عن القوى المثقفة والسياسية التي سادت في الدولة العثمانية." تتكون من أربعة أقسام رئيسية:

- أ. "النفوذ الألماني في تركيا" (صص. ٢-٣).
- ب. "الوكلاء الألمان وأخطائهم" (صص. ٤-٥).
- ج. "وحشية جمال باشا" (صص. ٥ظ-٦)"؛ "المؤامرات التركية بين الهنود المسلمين (ص.٧)؛ ملاحظات على الماسونية في تركيا تحت نظام الحكم الجديد (صص. ٨-١٠)."
- د. التعامل مع المعارضة (صص. ١١-١٣).



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Enc. in P.O.

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INTRODUCTION.

The following memorandum has been prepared under the supervision of the India Office by request of the Prime Minister. Its purpose is to give, if possible, an inner view of the intellectual and political forces which are predominant in the Ottoman Empire.

There has been a traditional friendship or sympathy for the Turkish Empire in the minds of many Englishmen in the past, and this sympathy still survives and tends to foster many misconceptions in regard to the existing state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire.

In the first place, we must distinguish between the people and the Government. The Ottoman people have qualities which get them a certain amount of credit; they are dignified, hospitable to strangers, courageous soldiers, moderately kind to animals, hard working, fond of children, manly in appearance and honest in trade. On the other hand, they are cruel to subject races, backward, jealous and slow witted. Further, it is a signal peculiarity of the Ottoman race to be abjectly submissive in the face of Government orders. This fault is often mistaken for discipline, but at root it is undoubtedly want of moral courage, arising from an unhappy combination of Moslem fatalism, Byzantine submissiveness to the power that is, and the unreasoning collective obedience of the Turkish Horde. Once Ottoman Turks fall under an alien Government as they have done in Greece, Bulgaria and the Caucasus, they become completely resigned to their fate, show no desire to re-assert themselves, and are as submissive to a Christian Government as they were to their own. This submissiveness or automatic response to orders is strongly insisted upon, because it banishes any hope of the Turkish peasantry or people ever rebelling against or even influencing the Government of the Ottoman Empire. Whoever is supreme at Constantinople is master throughout Turkish-speaking Turkey, and supremacy at Constantinople is in the hands of those who can control the secret police and the garrison. Some stress is laid on this particular point, because it is necessary to make it quite clear that the qualities which cause Turks to be attractive to English travellers and writers have no influence on the political situation whatever.

A second factor in the situation is the centralization of all political power in Constantinople. The Imperial traditions and geographical situation of the city have saved the Ottoman Empire from one fertile source of dismemberment, and that is the oriental tendency for provincial governors to become founders of local independent dynasties. The destruction of the local feudal nobility in



the latter part of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th has robbed the provinces of any power of independent action, the only persons not members of the bureaucracy now remaining in the Ottoman Empire who count as leaders being the desert Arab chieftains, a few of the Kurdish Aghas in the remoter fastnesses, and in a lower degree some of the notables of the cities of Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul and Baghdad.

Consequently, in the Ottoman Empire nothing counts except the bureaucracy, and bureaucracy is always at the mercy of those who control the army and the treasury.

In analysing the interior forces of the Ottoman Empire the whole mass of the people may be dismissed as submissive and docile, while the bureaucracy is mechanically controlled by those who hold power at Constantinople. Formerly this power lay in the hands of the Sultan, the Palace, the inner ring of high functionaries and the Moslem clergy. Since the advent of the Committee of Union and Progress these elements have entirely disappeared, the Sultan has become a puppet, the Palace has been scattered, the older ministers have retired or died off, the Moslem clergy has been completely tamed by terrorism, executions and the appointment of religious chiefs, such as the present Shaykh-al-Islam and the Grand Shelabi of Konia, who had no connection whatever with religion before assuming office.

This tendency might be cited as the cause of the loss of Tunis and Egypt, but lack of communications was practically alone responsible.

The administration of the Wakfs is now designed with the object of making the religious bodies political slaves of the Government. As a consequence, the Committee of Union and Progress, though small, and containing many non-Turkish elements, is absolutely supreme and, wherever the Turkish flag flies, unchallengeable. At first there were signs of opposition in the so-called Liberal Union, but the idea of opposition to the Government except as a conspiracy was too alien to Turkey to have any vitality, while the Committee of Union and Progress itself had views quite incompatible with the surrender of office after an unsuccessful election.

Wholesale executions, assassination, delation, exile and confiscation have crushed any possibility of a revolution of a real kind, though it must never be forgotten that the Committee of Union and Progress is always ready to engineer a revolution against itself for the purpose of reappearing in another rôle, or of ridding itself of some cumbrous appendage.

This evolution the Committee of Union and Progress has performed on different occasions. The first was during the so-called counter-revolution of 1909. The Committee felt that the prestige of Abdul Hamid was too strong and that the Liberal Union showed signs of becoming a real political force. The *modus operandi* was as follows:—The Committee of Union and Progress officers were withdrawn to Salonica, the ignorant troops who formed the garrison at Constantinople were excited to mutiny by "agents provocateurs" in the pay of the Committee of Union and Progress who passed themselves off as agents of the Sultan. As a consequence the liberal officers were murdered by their men who imagined they were acting according to the wishes of the Sultan. The Committee of Union and Progress returned to Constantinople with an army previously prepared for the purpose, as saviours of the situation, with their political opponents killed and a mandate to dethrone the Sultan and hang whosoever they desired.

Again when the Turco-Italian War was nearing an unfavourable crisis, the Committee of Union and Progress retired and lay dormant, until the Balkan situation became strained, then by means of mobs and demonstrations forced the Government into war, withdrew all Committee officers from the army on the eve of mobilisation, ensured defeat at Luli Burgas, remobilised the Committee officers, assassinated the Commander-in-Chief, overthrew the Government and retook Adrianople.

Subsequently, desiring to get an excuse to eradicate the last remnants of the Liberal Union, the Committee of Union and Progress on discovering a plot to assassinate Enver, Tala'at, Jemal and Shevket Pasha, and considering



Shevket Pasha as an old man who had served his turn, they arrested all the conspirators but those detailed for his removal, and allowed him to be killed in order to have an excuse for arresting some 800 innocent persons whom they wished to put out of the way.

From these events it can be inferred that, should there be a spectacular revolution at Constantinople during the present war, it will not be improbable that it may have been engineered with the cognisance of the Committee of Union and Progress, and in any case it may be taken for granted that the people themselves are mere tools.

A.—German influence in Turkey.

The outbreak of the Turkish revolution in 1908 was far less of a setback to German diplomacy than has generally been supposed. There is now little doubt that Baron Marschall von Bieberstein had already foreseen this movement and had begun to cut his relations with Abdul Hamid down to the minimum necessary for politeness. Baron Marschall realised from the first that no movement in Turkey which lacked the support of the officers of the army was likely to succeed. These officers had to a large extent been "made in Germany". The visits of Von Der Golz, Von Hoff, Ditfurth, Kamphoevener had borne fruit in Turkish military circles. Turkish staff officers now paid regular visits to Germany and took special courses at the German Great General Staff. The German lecturers gave both the cadets at Pancaldi and the officers of the Turkish Staff College the benefit of Germany's latest military discoveries; and, with the officers from the German Empire, came the agents of Krupp and Ehrhardt, supporting and supported by the German Embassy at Constantinople and the well-known groups which were commencing the economic exploitation of Anatolia. They had lost no opportunity of inducing their Turkish friends to purchase necessary and unnecessary arms in Germany. Until the revolution they had been unable to effect much with the Turkish press, since a Turkish press would scarcely be said to exist: after the revolution the way was open to them.

The German-trained officers of the army were perhaps Germany's most powerful allies in Turkey, but almost as powerful and more insidious were the Ottoman Jews.

The Young Turkish movement had its birth in the Masonic Lodges of the Jews of Salonica, who have been described with no little truth as the advance-guard of the Austro-German penetration of the Balkan Peninsula. These Jews, and, indeed, the great majority of the Israelites of eastern Europe, were pro-German or pro-Austro-Hungarian. They claimed to be pro-Turkish, but their loyalty to Turkey was of a nature with which the Turks might well have dispensed. They had opposed Macedonian reforms by every means in their power: they had inaugurated a vigorous campaign in favour of Zionism. It was not surprising that moderate and enlightened Turkish Liberals deprecated the growth of Jewish influence on Turkish politics, which was one of the most interesting features of the early years of the new régime in Turkey.

In 1910 the "Yeni-Gazeta" published a series of interesting articles concerning Jewish influences in Turkey. It hinted, it durst not do more than hint, that the chief causes of Jewish interest in the Turkish Empire in general, and in the "Young Turks" in particular, were:—

(1) a dislike of Russia and of all Ottoman Christians who were either Russian "protégés," such as the Slavs, or commercial competitors, such as the Greeks and Armenians;

(2) their belief in Germany as the future world power, and their pride in the financial, commercial and journalistic importance of the Jewish elements in the Central European Empires, and, arising out of these sentiments, the hope that Jewish enterprise would finally exploit the riches of a conquered Russia and a subservient Turkey. In a word, the Jews desired to ride on the back of the Teutonic warhorse to the political and financial conquest of the East.



Such were the two forces which made Baron Marschall confident that Germany would rapidly regain all the ground that she had lost through the overthrow of the Hamidian autocracy. Officers who had made one revolution would unmake it, or they would make another. The Jews had their grip on the Committee of Union and Progress, bound to them by sentimental and, still more, by financial ties. They would soon control the press: they could be relied upon to work hand in glove with Germany and Austria-Hungary throughout the Turkish Empire.

In September 1908, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzogovina. Turkish resentment was keen. Germany as Austria-Hungary's ally suffered for a while, but the Jews at Salonica and the German Embassy at Constantinople did their utmost to soothe the irritated Turks.

Meanwhile, the Committee of Union and Progress began to harbour foolish suspicions of Great Britain. Its excitable and inexperienced leaders, jealous of the aged Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pasha, who was altogether too moderate a politician for their taste, resented the courteous attentions paid to the old friend of England by the British Government and by the British Embassy.

In 1908, Hussein Jahid, afterwards one of the firebrands of the Committee of Union and Progress and already one of its journalistic mouthpieces, wrote in the "Tanin" that friendship with England should not and could not include friendship with Germany.

In February 1909, Kiamil Pasha fell. The Committee had won its first political victory. Forthwith the movement for a rapprochement with Germany began to gain ground. Professions of friendship to England still abounded, as did complaints that England did not realise that Kiamil Pasha was not the only statesman in Turkey and that the new régime was animated by none but the most constitutional aspirations. But for all these professions and assurances there left Constantinople in February 1909 a Turkish official, Azmy Bey, a leading member of the Committee of Union and Progress and afterwards one of Germany's supporters. He journeyed to Egypt. There he got rapidly into touch with the notorious Baron Von Oppenheim and other German "agents provocateurs" and proceeded with their assistance to open negotiations with a group of Egyptian extremists, now exiled or deceased. With them he founded what were described as Turkish Masonic Lodges, but, in reality, proved to be branches of the Committee of Union and Progress, at various centres in Egypt. His report to his Government, his conduct during his stay in Egypt and the statements which he made after his return to Turkey, leave no doubt that the activity this sinister personage displayed in the Nile Valley was anti-British and that it was prompted not only by the Extremist element among his fellow revolutionaries but by the most dangerous agents of Germany in the Near East.

On March 28th, 1909, the German Government by one stroke restored its prestige in Turkey. On that day she intervened in the dispute between Russia and Serbia, on the one side, and Austria-Hungary on the other, concerning Bosnia and Herzogovina, and, by a quasi-ultimatum forced Russia to desist from lending Serbia any further diplomatic assistance. Germany's appearance in shining armour with hand on sword-hilt furnished Turkish militarists and all whom German Power had dazzled or German gold had seduced with an excuse for further pro-German manifestations. A few days later came the military mutiny at Constantinople. Expelled from the capital, the Committee of Union and Progress obtained the support of the forces in Macedonia and, on April 24th, 1909, sternly quelled the mutiny. Three days later Abdul Hamid was deposed. The Committee of Union and Progress had won a *second* success. The German newspaper "Osmanischer Lloyd", which had, by this time, been founded at Constantinople and which was subventioned by the German Foreign Office, by the Krupp firm, and by the Deutsche and Deutsche Orient banks, hinted in its columns that England had encouraged the mutiny in favour of Sultan Abdul Hamid. The "Jeune Turc", a newspaper published in French which posed as the European organ of the extreme Young Turks, but was none the less owned and controlled by an elderly German Jew,



now opened an anti-English campaign. It was impossible for the representatives of the British Government in Turkey to do more than they had done during this period: the British Government too had done its utmost for the new régime. England's relations with Austria-Hungary had been cordial for nearly a century, yet England had openly manifested her displeasure at the Austro-Hungarian violation of the Treaty of Berlin and the blow struck at the hopes of the Turkish new régime. She had given Turkey advisers at least as competent as, and less costly than, those supplied by the German Embassy, her press had hailed the Ottoman revolution in enthusiastic terms. The ingratitude of the Young Turks was, therefore, the more regrettable. It did not, however, occur to the British Government that this was more than a mere outburst of pique inspired by the belief that Great Britain had become slightly sceptical, not of the good intentions, but of the political finesse of the Committee of Union and Progress. After a while the press agitation against Great Britain seemed to die down, but late in 1909 incidents occurred in the Turkish House of Commons which showed the extent to which German influence had made its way among Ottoman politicians.

Ferid Effendi, a well-known Deputy, on the occasion of the debate concerning the payment of the Kilometric Guarantees to the Baghdad Railway Company, made a most violent attack on Great Britain which, though reproved by the Grand Vizier Hilmi Pacha, was not disavowed by the leading members of the parliamentary wing of the Committee of Union and Progress. A few weeks later there came the question of the concession promised by the Sublime Porte to the Lynch firm, which had demanded greater facilities for river navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates. The Government did indeed obtain a vote authorising it to grant the concession, but the debate showed that the Committee majority in the Chamber of Deputies was hostile to and suspicious of Great Britain, and there can be no doubt that German and Jewish wire-pullers, Baron Von Oppenheim and Eskiel Sassoon, the M. P. for Baghdad, among them, had won the Young Turks to their side. A little later Hussein Hilmi Pacha resigned. The Committee party did not altogether approve his conduct of affairs, the Germans had the affair of the Lynch concession against him, and there can be little doubt that it was this that brought about his fall. To him succeeded as Grand Vizier Hakki Pacha, a venal and subtle favourite of Abdul Hamid, who had contrived to make his peace with Abdul Hamid's successors. He was on terms of intimacy with the German Ambassador and had paid several visits to Berlin. In a few weeks Hakki had become a regular visitor, one might almost say a client, at the German Embassy, while Germany did her utmost to improve her position in Turkey, she lost no chance of impressing Turkish visitors to her cities. Turkish Parliamentary Delegates who visited France and England were shown factories and workshops, philanthropic institutions and museums: in Germany no opportunity was lost of hypnotising them with the spectacle of endless masses of marching troops, of dazzling them with the splendour of Court ceremonial, of compelling their belief in the military power and the unsurpassed national efficiency of Germany.

The Congress of the Committee of Union and Progress which met at Salonica in the summer of 1910 discussed the question of Turkey's future foreign policy at considerable length and eventually decided that, while Turkey had most to gain from an alliance with the Central Powers, the Porte would be well-advised to abstain from any immediate entanglements, till the reorganisation of the army had made greater progress.

In the autumn of 1910, Germany sold two antique ironclads and four modern destroyers to the Porte. This produced a fresh outbreak of journalistic enthusiasm in favour of Germany and the Porte began foolish to encourage anti-French intrigues in N. Africa. Articles of an highly inflammatory description were written by Tunisian agitators and published (with the permission of a normally severe Censorship) in the Turkish Press. Large military orders were placed in Germany and many Turkish officers sent there for purposes of study. Enver Pasha, Military Attaché at



Berlin since 1908, was the object of particular attention from the Kaiser and the Crown Prince. It was not surprising therefore that the French Government, which has wisely retained in its hands the power to control the flotation of foreign loans in France, by reserving the right to forbid their quotation on the Paris Bourse, should have demanded certain guarantees before consenting to the contracting of a Turkish loan in France in the autumn of 1910. The Committee's financial expert Javid Bey, a crypto—Jew of Salonica, was supported by the leading German capitalists in his refusal to accept the French conditions, which involved a more effective control of Ottoman Finance, and contracted a loan at Berlin. A meeting convened at Constantinople by prominent members of the Committee of Union and Progress nominally to protest against Anglo-Russian interference with the Persian Government's chaotic policy—authorised the despatch of an effusive telegram to the Kaiser, who was hailed as the friend and protector of 300,000,000 Moslems. In October a convention was signed between the Porte and the German Baghdad Railway Company authorising the further prolongation of the Baghdad Railway and the creation of a port and coal depôt at Alexandretta on terms very favourable to the German concessionnaires.

In 1911, the Committee of Union and Progress at its Congress affirmed the necessity of a rapprochement between Turkey and the Central Powers.

Even the war with Italy did little to impair Turco-German friendship. Germany, never bound by the restrictions of international law when they proved onerous, not only maintained her military mission in full activity in Constantinople but sent officers and arms to assist Enver Bey in Cyrenaica. But the masses in Turkey understood dimly that the Committee of Union and Progress had blundered; the military outbreak which led to the fall of the Committee of Union and Progress Government in 1912 had some popular support; and the disasters of the Balkan War proved that German military instructions had not yet imparted the secret of victory to the Turks.

The *coup d'état* of January 23rd, 1913, was financed by an Hungarian notable M. de Szemere and a band of German Jews. Its success was followed by a steady increase of German influence, culminating in the appointment of Liman V. Sanders Pasha as Military Adviser to the Porte with greater powers than had been conferred upon any foreigner in Ottoman service. German officers now advised the expulsion of the Greek population from many parts of Turkey, which was carried out with unnecessary rigour and marked by a number of outrages. In May 1914 the German cruiser "Goeben" visited Constantinople for the second time. Admiral Souchon, Commander of the German Mediterranean Squadron, flew his flag on this powerful cruiser. A number of mysterious conferences took place between him and Enver Pasha, at some of which Liman von Sanders was present.

On the outbreak of the European War the German Military Mission remained in Turkey. On August 9th, 1914, the "Goeben" and "Breslau" entered the Dardanelles, and remained in Turkish waters under cover of a nominal "sale" which presumably included their officers and crews, who remained on board these vessels. They were soon reinforced. German naval and military officers accompanied by sailors, engineers and artillery men began to enter Turkey through Roumania and Bulgaria. The position of the British Naval Mission to Turkey became impossible, as one Turkish warship after another received German officers and crews. The Turkish Press was rapidly purchased, and in early October the notorious Baron Kühlmann opened news-Bureaux in Pera and Stambul which regaled the impressionable public with vastly exaggerated tales of German victories. On the departure of the British Naval Mission, Admiral Souchon assumed command of the Turkish fleet and on October 29th his destroyers with mixed Turco-German crews attacked Odessa. Since the outbreak of war German control has steadily increased throughout the Turkish Empire. German Generals have been the real leaders of the Ottoman Army and have on occasion exercised titular command. The opening of the road to Constantinople by the Central Powers was speedily followed by the appointment of German Advisers to the Ministries



of Interior, Justice and Finance. The Ottoman fleet or what is left of it remains under the control of Admiral Souchon. Turkey has been persuaded to part with large quantities of her gold in return for German paper. The extermination of the Armenians and the persecution of the Ottoman Greeks has been followed by a general paralysis of internal trade which Austro-Hungarian and German Jews are now attempting to galvanise into movement again. German speculators have brought up Turkey's supplies of cotton and copper and have provoked riots by their attempts to "corner" cattle and cereals. The military education on Prusso-Turanian lines of the youth of Turkey has been confided to Colonel von Hoff by the grateful Enver, and a Turco-German "House of Amity" was inaugurated at Constantinople, where order is maintained by a strong force of German police supported by a legion of German Secret Agents. German and Austrian troops defend the Gulf of Smyrna and small but well organised bodies of Germans known as the "Pasha formations" hold most of the strategical points in the Syria and W. Anatolia. The officers and men of these bodies are under the orders of the German Military Mission at Constantinople and do not depend in any way on the Turkish Higher Command.

The misdeeds of German Agents demand treatment in a separate chapter.

B.—German Agents and their Misdeeds.

A future history of internal affairs in Turkey during the present war will doubtless reveal the most curious facts concerning the activities of German Agents in Turkey and in the Near East in general. Already enough is known of the misdeeds of certain of these agents to enable an unprejudiced observer to form an opinion as to the moral worth of these persons and of those who employed them and of the mental capacity of their wretched dupes. Before the misdeeds of the most notorious German Agents in Turkey are described in detail, a brief general account of the methods of the class is necessary.

These agents, as instructions found upon the person of one of them attest, were ordered to make every allowance for the "oriental love of exaggeration" which the cynical German had determined to exploit. They frequently sought to impress their "subjects" with the belief that they were Moslems and neglected no opportunity of arousing the worst passions of the masses. Every species of vulgar deception—the parading of Turkish roughs clad in a travesty of the uniforms of the Indian Army in Arab towns as "Indian sympathisers", the publication in obliging Turkish newspapers of the portentous stories of mutinies in Egypt and India, of the invasion of the Sudan by the Senussi, of horrible acts of cruelty by the British forces—was practised by them and their Turkish understudies. Their efforts to exacerbate internal dissension within the Turkish Empire were unremitting and too often successful. Some of them have been openly accused of furthering the nefarious and cruel anti-Armenian campaign which the Committee of Union and Progress inaugurated in the early months of 1915. There cannot be any doubt whatever that they did their utmost to incite the Turks against the Arabs in Syria and elsewhere while simultaneously attempting to stir up the Arab world in Asia and Africa against the Entente Powers. In 1915, they urged upon the blood-thirsty Jemal Pasha the necessity of exterminating the best elements among the Arab Ulema and educated classes in Syria. In the same year Herr Frobenius was visiting Medina and attempting there to aid the Turkish or Turkish-paid preachers of *Jihad* by his counsels and by his subventions. In 1916, when Baron von Oppenheim's advice had borne fruit and Arabs were being executed in scores in the chief Syrian cities for having dared before the war to demand reforms, Colonel von Stotzingen was preparing a German expedition which was to pass through the Hedjaz in the company of a Turkish force, establish itself on the coast of the Red Sea and attempt from their to stir up disaffection among the Arabs of the Sudan.

The misdeeds of three of the German Agents in Turkey will now be set forth. The first of these three is "Captain" Jorge Nolcken y Waldberg *alias* Zeki Bey, one of the agents at Constantinople of the Krupp firm, an employee of the German Military Attaché at the Turkish Capital, a well-known *agent-provocateur* whose services were appreciated by the Turkish police and editor



of one of the chief pro-German newspapers in Turkey "Muhafzé-i-Millié" (National Defence).

Waldberg is by origin a Galician Jew. After sundry adventures in Argentine he repaired first to Greece and next to Constantinople which he was compelled to quit in 1905 owing to the scandals to which his propensity for blackmail gave rise. He then came to Egypt with American naturalisation papers and indulged for some years in blackmail until a condemnation by the Mixed Courts compelled him to quit the country rapidly in order to avoid arrest and imprisonment. He left Egypt for Turkey by a Khedivial mail steamer, from whose Captain he attempted to extort money, alleging that he had found vermin in his Cabin and threatening to report the matter to the Company. The discovery among his effects of a tin full of bugs led to his being clapped in irons, in which condition he completed the journey to Constantinople. The revolution having broken out Waldberg soon contrived to ingratiate himself with the less reputable members of the Committee of Union and Progress. He became a Moslem, taking the name of Zeki Bey, repudiated his wife and married the daughter of a wealthy but simple Turk who gave his son-in-law an allowance and afterwards was induced to advance him a sufficient sum to enable him to purchase a military newspaper, in which he aired his pro-German views. In this capacity he made the acquaintance of Krupp's Agent who granted him a subvention of £240 a year for advertising and "puffing" Krupp's artillery and munitions in the "Army Review" as his journal was then called. Colonel von Strempel, the German Military Attaché, found him most useful and the Committee of Union and Progress employed him to spy upon officers suspected of reactionary or seditious designs. But while Zeki Bey thus became influential and almost celebrated, Captain Jorge Nolcken y Waldberg continued his career of fraud as a leading member of the "Black band", a group of Levantine and Turkish swindlers who lived by offering merchants in England, Holland and Sweden consignments of mohair, valons, etc., at extremely low prices against advances and shipping them packing cases containing 10 per cent. of the article required and 90 per cent. of road-sweepings. Several of his associates were brought to book, but in spite of the efforts of foreign Chambers of Commerce and Consulates it was never possible to induce the Turkish authorities to arrest Zeki-Waldberg.

The part played by Waldberg in the arrests and executions which followed the murder of Mahmud Shevket Pasha will be described when Jemal Pasha's crimes are dealt with. It need only be said that this vulgar criminal and police spy was rewarded for his services by the payment of an official subvention to his journal, and that on the outbreak of the European War he was recommended to the German Embassy by his highly-placed friends in the Committee of Union and Progress as a suitable press-agent. A new journal "National Defence" in French and Turkish was promptly founded and subventioned by the German Embassy with the consent of Enver Pasha and till the outbreak of war with Turkey Zeki Bey laboured incessantly on behalf of the Turco-German Aliance. After hostilities had commenced his violence knew no limits; his organ still subventioned, continued and doubtless still continues to make the most abominable accusations against the Allies and to promise victory to the Turco-German Armies.

Captain Waldberg is frankly *canaille*. We will next ascend a step in the social scale to discuss the career of a German Agent who belongs to the cultured bourgeoisie. Herr Lotyved (von Hardegg) was borne at Beirut in 1865. His father was a North German, for many years Danish Consul at Beirut. The son went to Germany where he took a medical degree. He then opened a practice in Beirut where he held an administrative post in the German hospital. He was compelled to leave Syria in consequence of the discovery that he had misappropriated funds. His father made the deficit good, and Lotyved returned to Syria and started a private practice which comprised operations of a kind regarded as illegel in Great Britain. On the outbreak of war with Turkey Lotyved, who had prudently left Egypt where he passed as a Dane during a brief visit, was appointed German Consul at Haifa and took the name of Lotyvod von Hardegg. On his way to Haifa



he stopped at Damascus and made a speech in the courtyard of the Great Mosque of the Omeyyads urging the Damascene Moslems to slay all Christians except Germans and Austro-Hungarians, and to support Jemal Pasha and the *Jehad*. The Moslems, among whom Lotyved's dubious reputation was known, were unfavourably impressed and the Imams of the mosque who were jealous of itinerant preachers of Lotyved's kindney next day preached in favour of quiet and tolerance.

At Haifa Lotyved collected a band of roughs to diffuse pro-German ideas by terrorising the population and made a register of desirable Entente women whom he proposed to distribute among his followers. The Turkish authorities made no attempt to check the extortions of his followers: some indeed became his blind followers. Of these was the Kaimakam of Haifa on whom Lotyved prevailed to accompany him to the cemetery of the French soldiers killed in Napoleon's Syrian campaign and buried on Mount Carmel. There, to the lasting disgrace of the German and Turkish Civil Services, the Vice-Consul and the Kaimakam, assisted by some Turkish Gendarmes under the command of a Turkish officer, opened the graves, defiled the bones of the dead in the traditional and disgusting manner and scattered them over the fields.

In reward for this exploit—which provoked the bombardment of his Consulate by a French cruiser—Lotyved was promoted to the post of German Consul at Damascus where he still remains. He has been described as one of the most influential pro-Turks in Syria.

From the *bourgeoisie* we pass to men of title. At the moment when Germany was explaining to America and to the neutral European States that the accounts of the vandalism of her troops in Belgium and Northern France had been grossly exaggerated and that such damage as had been done to churches and monuments had been inflicted only in obedience to the dictates of the sternest military necessity and in consequence of French or Belgium provocation, Baron Kühlmann, well known as Councillor to the German Embassy in London immediately before the war, had organised news-bureaux at Pera and Stamboul in which photographs of the effects of German explosives not only upon forts but upon private houses and public buildings were ostentatiously exposed. No attempt was made to minimise or extenuate. Wrecked churches, houses gutted by fire or rent by Zeppelin bombs, were presented to the force-loving Turk as proofs of the destructiveness of the German sword.

Baron von Oppenheim is a German Jew who has for long been one of the Kaiser's chief agents in the Near East. He spent the summer of 1915 in Syria. There he lost no opportunity of stirring up racial hatred and religious fanaticism. He approved of the massacres and deportation of Armenians in North Syria and is said to have reproached officials who showed some slight humanity in their dealings with these unhappy people. He informed against neutral residents who were suspected of a lack of enthusiasm for the blessings of Turco-German military rule and held public meetings at Beirut, Damascus and elsewhere at which he posed as a Moslem and called upon his audience to support the *Jehad*. On one occasion he ventured to address the congregation within the Omeyyad Mosque at Damascus, thus improving upon his forerunner Lotyved von Hardegg who had not passed the outer court. His private life was extremely disreputable. He aroused the scorn of those to whom he had posed as a true believer by openly consorting with only Moslem prostitutes, while his intrigues with Moslem married women aroused hatred and disgust. Against the Arabs his tongue was deadly. "Why" he exclaimed one day in May 1915 "does the Government only hang a few friendless wretches, when its duty is to destroy the leading Arab poets, officials, deputies and intellectuals who are undoubtedly disaffected towards the Government?"

Within a fortnight after these words had been spoken in the hearing of certain Arab notables of Damascus, the arrests of the leaders of the great Arab community in Syria had begun. One after another they were taken by Jemal's soldiers and spies and early in 1916 their execution was decreed.



The Jewish Baron had left Syria by then but his evil-counsel had been taken by the drunken and blood-thirsty Jemal with whom he was most intimate during his stay in the unfortunate province.

Jemal's atrocities now demand description.

C.—The cruelties of Jemal Pasha.

Jemal Pasha dealt gently with the Syrians on his first entry into their country. He came as the future conqueror of Egypt and was received royally by the Syrians who looked upon his appointment as an honour to their country, as a partial recognition of it as a political entity and as a tribute to its importance.

He devoted the first few months of his rule to breaking down the bureaucratic system of the existing Turkish administration. In violent journeys from north to south of the province he made his presence known everywhere. He removed some local governors who showed signs of independence and broke the spirit of others by abruptly and without reference reversing their decisions. His love of oppression showed itself on two occasions. The first was his condemnation and public maltreatment of Nakhla Mutran, a Syrian Christian of Baalbek, who, after trial on a charge of intriguing with France, was led through Damascus on a donkey, face to the tail, and so beaten and outraged by hired ruffians that he died or had to be put out of his misery in prison. This act was on Jemal's part a shocking instance of ingratitude seeing that Victoria Mutran, sister of Nakhla, who has since died, had saved Jemal from Kiamil Pasha's police while he was preparing the *coup d'état* of January 23rd, 1913, with Enver and Talaat; had saved Javid and Jahid Beys by hiding them in her house in the days of the counter-revolution when armed mutineers were seeking their blood; and had done her utmost for the Committee of Union and Progress during her visits to Paris, where she frequently visited the French Foreign Office. The second occasion was Jemal's brief persecution of the Palestinian Jews. These were mostly of alien and hostile nationality and Jemal began to confiscate their property, as he had done with other allied subjects in Syria, and to expel them, which was merciful by comparison with his treatment of the British, French and Russians whom he interned. But by touching the Jews Jemal aroused the indignation not only of the Jews and crypto-Jews of the Committee of Union and Progress but of the American Ambassador in Turkey. Mr. Morganthau, himself a Jew, whose efforts on behalf of the allied subjects in Syria were long unsuccessful, who stood by and contemplated the Armenian massacres, and who allowed the Consular seals to be broken at Beirut and did not protest till six months had passed, now rose up in his might and secured from Jemal not only mercy for the Jews whom it had been intended to deport but favour, culminating in the grant of new agricultural concessions. Jemal was so far converted from his anti-Jewish past that he added a Jewess to his harem.

He now felt secure in Syria. Up and down the country his word was law. The mobilised youth of the country and the Turkish troops were his absolutely. The Ottoman officials were obedient: the foreign Consuls subservient. He even rid himself of part of his German Staff. Mysterious reports were put about in the summer of 1915 that all was not well between Jemal and the Committee of Union and Progress. It was said that the Dictator of Syria had refused to send his Arab troops to the Dardanelles: that he was plotting to make himself independent of Turkey in Syria. Jemal himself gave colour to these reports. A Turk from Mitylene he spoke in his cups of his Arab blood, his "sympathy with the people of the Prophet". Little by little the Arabs were persuaded that Jemal meant them well. In spite of his gambling, his drunkenness, his inordinate lechery, his fits of passion when he saw red, and struck down any one in his path, they began to think that this man would assist them to the reforms they had been imploring from the Ottoman Government for six years. Some of the leaders began to take Jemal into their confidence. This was what Jemal had been waiting for. He brought down from Constantinople to assist him Azmi, one of the foulest spirits in the Committee, and together they struck, and struck home. They arrested a group of the leading men of Beirut, and after a two-days' mockery of a trial hanged them publicly in the market place. The nine men hanged were not all politicians, but mostly



Muhammadan gentlemen of fortune, who had taken a wide part in the social and literary activities of Beirut. Some of them were delicate poets, others encyclopædists, who had striven for a revival of Arabic letters. One had been the leader of the Committee which by constitutional means had urge the Turkish Government to grant to the more enlightened parts of Syria some measure of devolution; that the language of the people might be spoken in their courts; that their functionaries might be people of their own race, and that a proportion at least of their taxes might be spent locally. For asking for this in the Ottoman Parliament he was hanged and his friends were hanged, because they were his friends. Such was the fate of Abdul Kerim El Khalil.

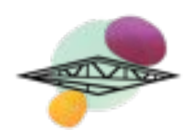
Next Jemal broke open the seals of the American Consulate-General upon the archives of the French Consulate at Beirut, and abstracted the documents. Seeing that there were no Jews incriminated the American Government failed to protest till six months later, when all the harm the documents could do had been done.

With the materials so obtained Jemal Pasha began a new campaign. He announced that they incriminated a large number of the leading men in Damascus and elsewhere, and had them thrown into prison, and their families deported to non-Arab provinces. He then condemned to death about 30 of them, and hanged them in public: among them the Senator Abdul Hamid-el-Zaurawi and many others received sentences of imprisonment and deportation. He then published a selection from the documents which he had seized. The publication of these excerpts was an amazing piece of effrontery, for they incriminated only one of the condemned, Shefik Bey-el-Moayad, and he a man who had been notoriously out of touch and sympathy with his fellows! Against the others there seems to have been no shadow of written evidence.

It is perhaps worth noting that the Syrian political groups, while chafing under the restrictions of Ottoman rule, and in some cases hoping for the time when an Arab Empire and Khalifate would be restored, and Islam subjected to it, had not envisaged for the present any severance from the Ottoman Empire. They had seen their impotence alone, even against Turkey, and had asked only for local autonomy, devolution, or administrative reform. One wing of the party had gone further, and suggested the necessity of foreign guarantee or protection, for the realisation of those reforms, but in the mass neither the Syrians, nor the Armenians whose demands were similar, had done anything disloyal to the Sultanate of Turkey, or anything incompatible with strict obedience to the Ottoman Empire. Their opposition had been all to the Committee of Union and Progress, an *imperium in imperio* within Turkey which had not, and has not, any legal authority or standing whatever, save what is derived from "made" elections and a *coup d'état*.

However, what Jemal Pasha wanted were not legalities, but heads. With most of the social and intellectual leaders of Syria dead on the gallows or in prison he felt himself entitled to give full rein to the Sadic impulses of his real nature. His mind had been long on the down grade. His sexual excesses, the drinking bouts in which he continually engaged, and the excitement of gambling and rigging the market in a country where his every word was law, had sapped what little mental restraint he had ever had. His medical advisers have reported him as subject to fits of homicidal madness, even when he is sober. Since that day of the hangings in Beirut his rule has been one long torment for the Syrians. The rich men are first plundered of their wealth (by means of Sursock, Jemal Pasha's Christian accomplice and business partner) and then exiled, condemned to death, or merely imprisoned. The poor are systematically starved, to further the flour trust which Jemal and Sursock have invented, and if they protest, are handed over to the mercies of the Gendarmes.

The flour trust is so characteristic a measure of Jemal's later stage that something should be said about it. North Syria is a rich corn-growing country, which produces far more wheat and barley than it needs for itself, above all now in war time, when there is no export, and so many of its men



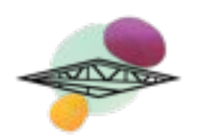
are out of the region serving in the army. The corn-growing districts are, however, in the interior away from the large towns. Jemal Pasha, as Commander-in-Chief, controlled the railways, and could regulate the food supply of the towns and populous districts. Sursock and himself agreed to raise the price of corn. For nearly six months they kept the country on short rations, pocketing every week thousands of pounds profit on their sales. While the surplus grain rotted in the villages. If private enterprise with pack animals started out to supplement the railway distribution the animals were requisitioned, unpaid, for military service, and the men pressed as labourers or soldiers. To such an extent did Jemal and Sursock push their operations that many thousands died of starvation on the coast, and whole districts of the Lebanon were depopulated. The corn trust was in 1915 the most fatal act of Jemal's government. The previous paraffin trusts, oil trusts and sugar trusts had been less terrible in their consequences, since it was easier to do without those things than to do without bread, though the poor people did their best with stewed mulberry leaves, herbs, and even human flesh.

Jemal's share in the Armenian massacres was not great, since few Armenians lived in his provinces. The people of Aleppo, headed by their Vali (now dismissed), refused his orders to massacre those who lived in their midst. His victims from Cilicia were taken care of by the Arabs (so far as was possible in the general economic misery) and the destitute women and children were respected in his despite. But 500 were stripped naked and sold publicly by "gentlemanly" Turkish soldiers in the Maidan of Damascus on April 15th, 1916. Jemal exterminated Zeitun, and Fakhri Pasha, his second-in-command, was able to make an end of the Armenians of Adana on whom he had made such a beginning in 1909. Elsewhere there were smaller killings, notably at Urfa where some thousands were rapidly massacred before the faces of the interned allied residents of Syria, and where the American missionary and Vice-Consul died suddenly, after imprisonment in the serai on the grounds of insanity.

However, in his treatment, both of Americans and Armenians, Jemal was only imitative of his colleagues, and working on less material. In his treatment of deserters he was himself again. He used to hang them (and is still hanging them) in batches of ten to twenty at a time, over the doors of their own houses, and he leaves the bodies exposed for two or three days. Those who have lived in the East will know what an added horror this must inflict on their families.

Finding this measure insufficiently cruel Jemal has now given license to all his Corporals of Gendarmes to hang without form of trial, one out of every batch of fugitives caught in their district whether liable to military service or not. When one knows how ill-organized a country Syria is, and how inherently vicious the Turkish Gendarme in a foreign province can be, one can only marvel at the mentality of the ruler who puts such a power into the hands of the smallest non-commissioned officer.

Deserters, it will be understood, are not only men avoiding service in the actual army, but old men or boys who have fled from Labour Battalions. Syria was an undeveloped country, without roads or through railways, and from military necessity Jemal has had to construct many roads and a main railway. He has done this entirely by the forced and unpaid labour of the Christians and Muhammadans physically unfit for military service. The workers are unsheltered and half-starved and beaten forward in their work from morning to night, without any rest or any sanitary or medical care. Typhus, cholera, small-pox and dysentery have made fearful ravages among them, and as they are unfit to be soldiers the command takes no interest in their fate. The younger generations, from 14 to 18, have perished in the way, while the grown men are dying on the battlefield, and the very old are now being pressed to take the places of their dead sons or grandsons on the military works. Meanwhile Jemal Pasha has worked out a new and colossal system of monopolising the whole 1916 harvest, compared to which the corner made by Sursock and himself in 1915 will be a minute and hardly profitable speculation.



TURKISH INTRIGUES AMONG INDIAN MUHAMMADANS.

The following extracts from a note, prepared at Cairo on the 19th March 1914* ("The Pan-Islamic movement and its effect on political agitation in India"), summarise in a convenient form the story of Young Turk intrigues among Indian Muhammadans during the period immediately preceding the war:—

* Enclosure in Lord Kitchener's despatch No. 63, 4th April 1914; copy sent to India, 24th April 1914.

"The promoters of the (Pan-Islamic) movement took advantage of the pro-Turkish feeling aroused by the Balkan Wars and the constant arrival of Indians at Constantinople, either as representatives of the Red Crescent Society or as journalists, to sound these latter and to agree with them as to the possibility of creating serious movements against Great Britain in their own country. It may thus be said that almost every Indian who visited Constantinople went back to his country fully prepared to serve the Turks by helping to spread the principles of Pan-Islamism. Some of those same Indians passed through Egypt, where they met the leaders of the nationalist party with whom they conferred and to whom they confided that it was the intention of Indian Moslems to form secret societies under cover of religion for the purpose of sowing the seeds of Pan-Islamism as desired by the Turks, and that they would endeavour to come to an understanding with their Hindu brethren and stir up the spirit of rebellion and independence throughout the whole country. One of the most important, if not the most important, of these societies is the society called 'The servants of Al-Kaaba (Khuddam-i-Kaaba) * * * During the summer of 1913, and the winter of 1914, Maulvi Mahbub Alam, proprietor of the newspaper *Paisa Akhbar* of Lahore, visited Cairo, and several Egyptian Moslems used to call on him. * * * In answer to their questions regarding India he frankly told them of the attachment of Indian Moslems to Turkey and of how this latter was trying to profit by it * * * Maulvi Mahbub Alam also declared that during his stay at Constantinople having conferred with the men of the Ottoman Government regarding the society 'The servants of Al-Kaaba', he understood that they expected to draw a certain benefit from it * * * *"

The note went on to give the following names of Turkish Agents in India:—

(1) *Khalil Khalid Bey*, Turkish Consul-General at Bombay, "undoubtedly one of the most important emissaries of Pan-Islamism according to the Turkish acceptance of the word". Since the outbreak of war he has been a frequent contributor of anti-British articles to the German Press, one of his favourite themes being that the Indian Government have endeavoured to make the *haj* impossible.

(2) *Brossaly H. Wahba* at Delhi, described as "an Egyptian who accompanied Sheikh Abdul Aziz Shawish when this latter left Egypt for Constantinople, in order to help the Sheikh in publishing his Pan-Islamic papers"; * * * lately sent over to Delhi to start an Arabic-Indian newspaper under the auspices of the society "The servants of Al-Kaaba" * * * on his arrival in India, he is known to have produced a letter written in Turkish by Enver Pasha, Turkish Minister of War, and translated into Arabic, in which an appeal is made to the Indians to help Wahba to accomplish his mission".

(3) *Drs. Abdel Hak Adnan Bey and Kamal Omar Bey*, delegates of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, stated to be "working, under the pretext of being simple delegates of the Red Crescent Society, for the advancement of Pan-Islamism and in order to draw the Moslems into closer touch with Turkey and cause them to help her financially.

(4) *Shabandar Hilmy Zada*, stated to have proceeded to India in September 1913, as a delegate of the Committee of Union and Progress.

(5) *Muhid-den Bey Ahmed*, said to be a brother of Khalil Khalid Bey.

The Cairo note also produced evidence to show that the Ottoman Government contemplated sending a number of Egyptian doctors on Pan-Islamic missions to India.

To the above list of Turkish Agents in India may be added a sixth name, that of *Sheikh Abdul Kadir Khan*, a Delhi barrister, who was recently



described by an informer as "a direct representative of the Young Turks for the spread of Pan-Turkism in India". He was also said to have received a decoration from the Sultan.

The same informer, an Indian who claimed to have visited Constantinople, and to have held a *Wakf* scholarship from the Turkish Government, gave the following account of Turkish intrigues in India:—"The Turks were always anxious to get into touch with Indian Muhammadans and received them well when they came to Constantinople. Muhammad Ali first got into touch with the Turks when he was at Oxford through being friendly with Hadji Adil Bey, sometime Governor of Adrianople. In 1911, there was talk of giving Muhammad Ali a Turkish title. Besides ordinary communications through the post, India was divided up into circuits in each of which there was a representative propagandist (Indian) of the Young Turks."

The hold which Pan-Islamism had taken among Indian Muhammadans first came prominently into notice during the Turco-Italian and Balkan Wars of 1911-13. Indian sympathy with the Turkish cause found expression, not only in the stream of resolutions* and protests from Muhammadan public bodies, etc., which poured in upon the British Government both in India and in London, but also in active medical assistance rendered to the Ottoman armies. A conspicuous example was the medical mission under Dr. Ansari, sent to Turkey at the end of 1912 under the auspices of the Delhi "Red Crescent Society" and Muhammad Ali, the well-known editor of the "Comrade" and "Hamdard" newspapers. Whatever may have been its original objects, this mission assumed a definitely political complexion. Indeed its political character was admitted by Dr. Ansari, who, in a speech delivered at Aligarh† after his return to India, claimed that "the most important result of the mission was the formation of a bond of union between the Turkish nation and the Indians". Dr. Ansari added that the Turks had known little about their "Indian brothers" till the members of the mission arrived, and that the latter were soon made a good deal of. He described his interview with the Sultan who, he said, had thanked him "with tears in his eyes" for the services rendered by the mission. On another occasion, adopting a tone described as "decidedly anti-Christian and anti-European", Dr. Ansari appealed to his hearers to subscribe for the new Turkish colonies in Anatolia. While the medical mission was in Turkey, Muhammad Ali conducted a vigorous agitation in India in its support. Addressing a mass meeting at Lahore on the 28th January 1913, he declared that the question of Turkey was one of life and death to Islam, and that Indian Muhammadans held the "hammer of religion" in one hand and the "cup of loyalty" in the other. In February 1913, he began to write up the Ottoman Treasury bonds in the columns of the "Comrade" and devoted a good deal of space to this subject.

But perhaps the most important development of Pan-Islamism in India was the foundation in 1913 of the *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba* ("Society of the servants of the *Kaaba*") to which reference has already been made. According to the statement of an informer,‡ the Anjuman "originated in Constantinople and not as generally believed in India", and had a two-fold object, *viz.*:—"helping Turkey politically and looking after pilgrims and their comfort". However that may be, there can be no doubt that the society was largely the outcome of Pan-Islamic doctrines, deriving their inspiration from Ottoman sources. It was established with the ostensible object of protecting Mecca and other Holy Places of Islam from non-Muslim aggression, and members were required on joining to take an oath to "keep up the respect of the *Kaaba*" and to sacrifice their lives and property against non-Muslim agressors. The original

* It is noteworthy that the Muhammadans of Patna sent a copy of their resolution to the Turkish Consul-General at Bombay "for transmission to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey".

† On the 19th July 1913, Muhammad Ali was also present on this occasion, "wearing the uniform of the Turkish mission".

‡ Mirza Saghir Khan Begg arrested in Egypt in September 1913. This man's statements have been largely discredited by subsequent contradictions and admissions, but in his final statement, which is believed to approximate the truth, he repeated his assertion that the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba was founded in Constantinople. He believed that it was first established in 1909, that a "Young Turk named Khalil Bey" had a hand in its formation.



ideas of the founders are stated to have been very extravagant, and to have included the maintenance of a naval and military force for the protection of Mecca and other sacred places. It is at any rate clear that action other than mere proselytism or educational work was contemplated. Muhammad Ali was one of the promoters of the society: another was Mushir Husain Kidwai, who is known to have visited Constantinople in 1907-08 and to have been decorated by the Sultan for his "services in the cause of Islam".

NOTES ON FREEMASONRY IN TURKEY UNDER THE NEW RÉGIME.
(1908—1914.)

(i) *Preliminary.*

In order better to appreciate the following notes the reader should bear in mind that:—

(1) While the insignia, titles, passwords, signs, &c., of Freemasonry do not defer materially in most countries in which Freemasonry exists, the spirit which animates the Craft and the objects for which it exists differ in essentials in different countries.

(2) Omitting details which are of no real importance one may safely divide Freemasonry into two groups, *viz.*, the Northern and the Southern Lodges.

The Northern group is composed of the Grand Lodges, &c., of the British Islands, the United States of America, the British Colonies, Germany, Scandinavia, Holland and a very few Latin organizations. These Lodges confine themselves to charitable and benevolent activities. Their "tone" is religious—usually Christian: they play no political *rôle* and are debarred by the Articles of their Constitution from so doing.

The Latin Lodges or "Orients" are (*a*) anti-clerical and often anti-religious; (*b*) anti-monarchical institutions. Their occult activities have frequently given rise to serious political scandals: *e.g.*, "L'Affaire des fiches maçonniques" in France, and the Italian scandals which compelled the Ministers of War and Marine in 1913 to forbid any officer to remain or become a Freemason. They are at open warfare with the Church of Rome which forbids its members to belong to any secret society and, therefore, opposes Freemasonry.

As might be expected from the character of its rulers, Turkey has adopted "Latin" Freemasonry. A British Lodge existed in Constantinople from about 1870, and certain prominent Turks joined it, among them Murad Effendi, the Heir-Presumptive and the famous religious teacher Jemal-ed-Din el Afghani.* Abdul Hamid after ascending the Turkish throne discovered that his unfortunate predecessor Murad, in spite or because of his mania, had joined a Lodge frequented by English and other infidels. Much incensed at this and believing that all persons who held secret meetings must necessarily be conspirators, he let it be known that any Ottoman subject who became a Freemason did so at his own risk. Freemasonry of the "Northern" form consequently disappeared from Turkey as far as the Turks were concerned.

(ii) *Freemasonry in Syria and at Salonica till 1908.*

For the next generation the Moslems of the Turkish Empire eschewed Freemasonry. This they did, either from prudential motives, or else because they accepted the teaching of the Conservative Ulema, that since Islam enjoined fraternity and mutual benevolence upon Moslems, Freemasonry was a superfluity, and further, that Moslems who joined Masonic Lodges might, under certain easily imaginable circumstances, imperil their souls by obeying the charges of Freemasonry rather than the commands of Islam.

As for the non-Moslems, few of these took any interest in Freemasonry. The very few Greek Lodges in Turkey were to all intents and purposes very subsidiary branches of the Ethniké Hetæria, and occupied themselves mainly

* Jemal-ed-Din el Afghani is said by some to have joined the Craft in Egypt after his expulsion from Turkey. Others maintain that he joined an Anglo-Ottoman Lodge at Constantinople in 1875 or 1878.



with patriotic declamation when times were quiet. Whenever the Greek element in Turkey was unpopular, they fell into a state of suspended animation. The Armenians and Slavs of Turkey paid little attention to Freemasonry of any description. They had enough secret societies of their own. The Christian Syrians of the Lebanon had several Lodges, some affiliated to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which indulged in conviviality and good works, others, *e.g.*, the "Cedar" Lodge, affiliated to the Grand Orient of France, which kept up a certain amount of agitation against the Maronite Clergy.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Latin Freemasonry began to gain ground among the Spanish Jews of Salonica. These Jews composed more than half of the 130,000 inhabitants of the city. Of its "Moslems," fully 12,000 were "Dönmés," some of whom were admitted to the Jewish Lodges.*

The Jewish Lodges of Salonica were affiliated to the Grand Orient of Italy. Their members met in buildings, which belonged to Italian or other foreign subjects and were, therefore, fairly safe from police descents.

The Jews and Dönmés, notably the former, enjoyed great influence at Salonica. Their political tendencies were anti-Slav and anti-Greek, their sympathies Austro-Hungarian or Turkish. They looked forward with alarm to the prospect that Macedonia would ultimately be detached from Turkey, and when the "Young Turks" began to obtain adherents and form an organization among the officers of the Macedonian garrisons, the Jewish Freemasons opened their Lodges to the conspirators on the advice of the then "Venerable" of the "Macedonia Risorta" Lodge, the notorious Emanuel Carasso Effendi. It was thus that Talaat, Javid, Dr. Nazim, Behaeddin Monastirli, and many other important Young Turks became Freemasons and conspired in safety in nominally Italian or Spanish houses.†

(iii) *From July 23, 1908, to May 28, 1911.*

The triumph of the revolutionaries did not lead to the immediate re-establishment of Freemasonry at Constantinople. Fear of Abdul Hamid was still strong, and one or two incidents at Constantinople showed that Freemasonry—as known in Salonica—was not likely to be popular with the Conservative Ulema there. At the funeral of Manissalizade Refik Pasha, Minister of Justice, a leading member of the Committee of Union and Progress, much comment was aroused by the action of members of the Salonica Lodges, who placed the dead man's Masonic insignia on the coffin. Certain Turks of Constantinople who knew Salonica remarked a curious similarity between the emblems of the Committee and those of the Macedonia Risorta Lodge, and of the Jewish Beni Brith Society, and commented indiscreetly thereon.

Meanwhile, the inevitable adventurers had arrived to exploit Turkish Freemasonry. Urfi Pasha, an Egyptian notable who had appointed himself Grand Master of the improperly constituted Grand Orient of Jerusalem," and distributed sonorous titles such as "Grand Hierophant of Memphis," among his few followers, appeared at Constantinople in March 1909, but was frightened back to Egypt by the Military Mutiny of April 13th, and did not reappear.

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* In view of the remarkable influence exercised by the "Dönmés" in Turkish Freemasonry, it is necessary to give a brief account of their origin and characteristics. In the "Annus Mirabilis," A.D. 1666, a Smyrna Jew, named Sabatai Sevy, claimed to be the expected Messiah. He won many adherents, but also made many enemies by his attacks on the Old Law, and by his advocacy of honest business methods in the Levantine world. He finally proclaimed his intention of sending the Sultan in golden chains to Jerusalem. That potentate ordered the prophet to be brought before him, and bade him choose between impalement and conversion. Sabatai—*cf.* Candide's choice on a less solemn occasion—"feared death like a philosopher," and apostatised. He was followed in his apostasy by several thousand adherents, most of whom settled at Salonica. They and their descendants conformed outwardly to Islam, but were buried in separate cemeteries, never intermarried with genuine Moslems, and were reputed to practise certain Jewish rites in secret. The Dönmés of the present generation are practically without religion. They are a subtle, clannish, and unscrupulous community, blessed with considerable commercial and financial ability, extremely secretive, and very often suffering from mental and constitutional taints, the result of close inbreeding.

† Emmanuel Carasso was a low-class and dishonest lawyer, whose devotion to his clients' interests went so far as to lead him to indulge in drinking bouts in the company of the Public Prosecutor of Salonica, who was very talkative when in liquor. He was—and is—an unscrupulous, venal, and secretive scoundrel, with a mysterious manner; and has been a very useful jackal to the lions and tigers of the Committee of Union and Progress.



Another adventurer, who had already appeared on the scene, merits more attention. This was one Yusef Sakakini Effendi, a French protected subject of most uncertain origin, but probably a Syrian Jew, resident at Alexandria, who had lived by exploiting Freemasonry in various parts of the Levant, and, by rendering a variety of mysterious services to the then Khedive, for whom he spied, to Aziz Pasha Hassan, an Egyptian Prince of Prusso-Turkish morals, who had served in the British and German Armies, and other notables. He now arrived at Constantinople, and placed his services at the disposition of the Salonica Lodges, while losing no opportunity of advertising Aziz Hassan and himself.

The Prince had already acquired something of a military reputation in Turkey as General Officer Commanding of one of the divisions of the Adrianople Army Corps, and was, therefore, regarded by the Salonica Freemasons as a useful figure-head. He and Sakakini, who were or professed to be of the 27th degree in the Masonic hierarchy, were appointed to confer with distinguished foreign Freemasons concerning the creation of a "Grand Orient of Turkey".

The Italian, French, Spanish and Portugese Grand Orients recognized the new Grand Orient, but British recognition was withheld, pending the receipt of information from competent British Freemasons as to the genuineness of Ottoman Freemasonry.

Meanwhile, Freemasonry became fashionable. In addition to those previously mentioned, many other prominent adherents of the Committee became Freemasons. Among them were Hussein Jahid Bey, Editor of the *Tanin* and M. P. for Constantinople, Dr. Behaeddin Shakir, Halajian Effendi, Minister of Public Works, Nejmeddin Mollah, a future Minister of Justice, and Musa Kiazim, a future Sheikh-ul-Islam. The neophytes at first distributed Masonic signs and grips with the utmost impartiality upon all their foreign acquaintances, and frequently exhibited a pained surprise at discovering that every "enlightened" European was not necessarily a F∴ M∴

In June 1909, the Grand Orient of Turkey was definitely constituted. The Grand Orient of Italy stood sponsor to it, and Comte Goblet d'Aviella, a Belgian nobleman of the 33rd degree, presided over the inaugural ceremony, which is said to have been of a very imposing description, and was graced by the presence of numerous Jewish gentlemen from Haskeui (the Whitechapel of Constantinople), Salonica, Smyrna and various cities in Hungary, and the Central Empires, and a number of notable Young Turks.

The first "Supreme Council of the Grand Orient of Turkey" was then elected. Its composition is given below. It is of interest in view of the fact that even at this early date, certain foreign observers had begun to wonder whether, to repeat an epigram to which one of them gave vent, "the Young Turk might not prove to be an old Jew with German affinities".

Grand Venerable.—Talaat Bey.—(Moslem.)
Faik Bey.—(Moslem.)
Prince Aziz Hassan.—(Moslem.)
Fethi Bey.—(Moslem.)
Carasso Effendi.—(Jew.)
Faragg Effendi.—(Jew.)
Cohen Effendi.—(Jew.)
Djavid Bey.—(Dönmé.)*
Sarim Kibar.—(Dönmé.)
Mehmed Talaat.—(Dönmé.)
Secretary.—Sakakini Effendi.—(? Probably a Jew.)

It may be asked why the Committee of Union and Progress leaders went to such pains "to provide Turkey" (as one of their Turkish critics remarked), "with a complete set of ready-made Jewish Masonic and insignia".

* Cousin of Djavid.



Their reasons were probably the following :—

(1) The ignorant in Turkey, as in some other countries, were inclined to regard Freemasons as mysterious and probably malignant beings. Anything that deepened the cloud of mystery that enveloped the Committee of Union and Progress in the early days of the new régime added to its prestige.

(2) Both the educated Jews of Salonica, the Dönmés, and the Extremist Young Turks who were represented in the G ∵ O ∵ of Turkey, were Freethinker, and in many cases extremely hostile to "clericalism" on the part either of the Ulema or of the Christian Patriarchates. Anti-Clericalism was the motive force of the Grand Orients of Italy and France, in which Jewish influences were relatively powerful. The Jews hoped to bring the Young Turks into close contact with these "extreme" elements, in the hope of finding support for the Turkish Revolutionary party in the Latin world. The Young Turks of the Committee of Union and Progress were naturally not adverse to this.

(3) The foundation of several Masonic Lodges at Constantinople enabled the leading spirits of the Committee of Union and Progress the "Extreme Left" of the party to meet in comparative secrecy to form "an Inner Circle" united by the Committee oath and by Masonic ties, within the Circle of the Committee, which was expanding almost too rapidly. It is noteworthy that, as far as is known, no known opponent of the Committee of Union and Progress was ever permitted to join the Grand Orient of Turkey.

The importance of the part played by the Jews and Dönmés in Turkish Freemasonry is easily explained. Jews and Dönmés were more trusted because less feared by the Turks than the members of any other non-Moslem community. They had thrown in their lot with the Committee of Union and Progress and rendered it valuable services, moreover, their ideas concerning Freemasonry being, to say the least of it, very different from those of British Freemasons, they undoubtedly did their best to exploit it for their own personal ends.

In the spring of 1910, it became known that the principal Masonic authorities in the British Islands had refused to recognize the Grand Orient of Turkey, on the ground that its Freemasonry was "spurious". It had transpired that numerous Oriental snobs had been induced to join Turkish Lodges by the belief assiduously inculcated by certain Jewish Freemasons, that they would one day be able "to speak as brothers to the King of England". Other scandals had been noted. Members of "Orients" made the sign and uttered the "formula of distress" during paltry squabbles with the police in the "gay" quarter of Pera, with the object of arousing the sympathy of brother Masons. An enthusiastic young Jew of the Galata Orient started a series of public lectures on Freemasonry, and disclosed signs, grips and passwords to his delighted co-religionists at Haskeui, until the police arrested him on the charge of "holding a political meeting without authorization," and cast him into prison where he long remained.

It had also transpired that the G.·. O.·. of Turkey had been in communication with the Egyptian Nationalist Extremists. Early in 1909, Azmy Bey, afterwards notorious as Chief of Police at Constantinople, visited Egypt with the alleged intention of establishing good relations between the Salonica Freemasons and certain Freemasons in Egypt. He seems to have furnished his Government with a report concerning the necessity of establishing branches of the Committee of Union and Progress to be described as "Turkish Masonic Lodges" in Egypt, and to have indulged in not a little pro-Turkish intrigue. The visit of Sakakini to Turkey was probably one of the results of Azmy's mission. Another was certainly the appoinment in 1910 of Mahomed Ferid Bey, the leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Extremists, to be the delegate in Egypt of the Grand Orient of Turkey.

Not realizing that this prostitution of Freemasonry to political and private ends must become known in Great Britain, the G.·. O.·. of Turkey had made numerous efforts to arrive at a rapprochement with British Freemasons. Carasso Effendi in spite of his unfortunate past was selected to accompany the Ottoman Parliamentary delegates to London in 1909, because in the words of another delegate from the wilds of Arabia. "He was head of a Masonic Temple at Salonica, so Taalat said he must go to London because all the English Freemasons of importance would certainly welcome him."



The failure of these schemes caused much ill-feeling among the members of the Grand Orient of Turkey.

In 1911, the distrust caused by the occult and conspiratorial methods of Talaat, and his friends resulted in a schism in the Committee. The dissidents made great efforts to exploit the dislike of many of the Ulema for Freemasonry, which was known as "the new Jew religion" among many of the inhabitants of Constantinople, and these efforts were so far successful that Talaat Bey made a public statement to the effect that he had no connection with any non-Moslem Secret Society, and the Committee Congress of 1911 passed a resolution whereby it affirmed that the Committee of Union and Progress had no collective connection with Freemasonry (September 1911).

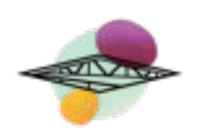
From this date Turkish Freemasonry lost some of its importance. It had been too freely discussed. The *Yeni Gazeta*, an "Ittilaf" organ, had devoted a series of articles to "Latin" Freemasonry, in which special attention was drawn to "L'Affaire des fiches Maçonniques" and other scandals, and the Turkish public was warned against the influence of the Jews and Dönmés of Salonica.

Freemasonry therefore went into obscurity.

After the fall of the Committee of Union and Progress Government in 1912, and the closing of the Chamber of Deputies by order of Mukhtar and Nazim Pashas, the leading members of the Committee met two or three times in the Pera Orient before the Balkan War. On January 23rd, 1913, one of the bands of Committee "fedais" led by Enver, Djemal, and Azmy, who attacked the Sublime Porte and killed Nazim Pasha, was preceded by the red and white flag of the Salonican Macedonia Riserta Lodge, and contained a number of men dressed as "effendis" and wearing the red and white ties and rosettes of the G∴O∴ of Turkey.

This was the last occasion on which the Young Turkish imitation of Freemasonry came prominently before the public. Owing to the fact that the Committee of Union and Progress was henceforth all powerful in Turkey, there was less need for mystery. Moreover, there were new attractions. "Yeni Turan," the Boy Scout movement, and all the other activities of the Turk Odjaghy Society were more interesting and more "national," and as far as is known Turkish Freemasonry is now dormant, and will probably remain so, till the present governing group in Turkey is driven from power, and resumes its underground methods against the next Turkish régime or a foreign conqueror.

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D.—The Treatment of the Opposition.

From its first appearance as a dominant political factor in Turkey the Committee of Union and Progress showed an extraordinary intolerance of criticism and of the most constitutional forms of opposition. Its first exploit in terrorism, at the expense of the Opposition parties which had been formed after the proclamation of the Constitution, was the murder of the Editor of the "Serbesti" (April 1909), an Albanian, named Hassan Fahmi. This assassination was one of the causes of the military mutiny of 13th April 1909, which was followed by the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid.

The outbreak of criticism of the policy of "Turcification" in Macedonia among Greeks, Slavs, and, to some extent, Albanians, was followed by a series of murders of members of these communities. The men selected for assassination had been, before the Revolution of 1908, implicated in "band warfare" against one another or against the Hamidian régime. On the coming of the Constitution they were amnestied and many of them afterwards rendered considerable service to the Committee of Union and Progress in its brief campaign against Abdul Hamid. None the less, they were "mysteriously assassinated" and their murderers, though well-known to the public, remained unpunished. Between 1909 and 1912 about 300 persons (Bulgars, Serbs, Greeks and a few Albanians) were thus made an end of. Among them was a French engineer, who was shot by mistake at Monastir by an Albanian hireling, who mistook him for a local Bulgarian politician. His assassin, who was actually arrested, died in prison. The Metropolitan of Grevena was also assassinated in 1912 by a group of gendarmes led by Vehib Bey,† afterwards glorified as a patriot, who tortured the unfortunate prelate for upwards of an hour, before putting him to death. These crimes made the unnatural Balkan alliance possible.

† Since killed on the Russian front.

The Turkish critics of the Committee party in Constantinople and the provinces were not at first molested by the Committee, though blackmail of persons reputed to have been adherents to the old régime was not infrequent. But in 1910, the Committee of Union and Progress decided that the growth of Turkish opposition must be checked. A "plot" was promptly discovered, and Dr. Riza Nur, M. P. for Sinope, arrested with several other persons on a charge of conspiracy. For dealing with such cases, the Committee Government had instituted a permanent Court-Martial, which was formed after the re-occupation of Constantinople by the Committee troops (24th—25th April 1909). This body sat *in camerâ*. It was irresponsible; independent both of the Judiciary and the Civil executive. Prisoners tried before it were not given the benefit of Counsel. There was no appeal against its sentence except to the Sultan—a weak and aged figure-head.

During the lifetime of Mahmud Shevket Pasha the Permanent Constantinople Court-Martial—though composed of officers, who were Committee nominees—wrought no great wrong, and in the case of Dr. Riza Nur acquitted accused for lack of evidence, a post card with an illegible signature being all the testimony that the Committee of Union and Progress agents could produce against this deputy.

In the same year Ahmed Sammim, a young Turkish journalist who had indulged in press criticism of Committee of Union and Progress methods, was shot near the Sublime Porte. The police and gendarmes who were on duty



near the spot failed to apprehend the murderer. Dr. Nazim, one of the leaders of the Committee, had previously warned Sammim that if he persisted in his criticism a "Bela" (misfortune) would befall him.

In 1910 and 1911 a band of Circassians, some of whom were relatives of Dervish Bey, M. P. for Seres, and Midhat Bey, afterwards Secretary-General of the Committee of Union and Progress, established a reign of terror in the Seres-Drama-Kavala region. They participated in the murders of Greeks and Bulgars to which attention has previously been drawn, and they also murdered or maltreated sundry Moslem landowners, who disliked being blackmailed.

Two of them finally proceeded to Constantinople and shot Zeki Bey, an official of the Ottoman Public Debt, who had given great offence to the Committee of Union and Progress by publishing a Turkish translation of an Arabic anti-Committee article written by the well-known Seyyid Rashid Ridha for an Egyptian newspaper. The victim had been warned by Talaat Bey that he was in danger, but, in spite of his warning, had added to the ire of the Committee by publishing an article in a Constantinople newspaper in which he pointed out that Javid Bey was the reverse of a financial genius. The murder aroused great indignation. The Committee of Union and Progress which now commanded a bare majority in Parliament, was unable to prevent the arrest of the assassins or their trial, which extended over several months, before the Criminal Courts.

But, meanwhile, the Committee decided to meet the growth of popular discontent by dissolving Parliament, and holding new elections. These were held in the spring of 1912. They were "made" by the local Executive authorities, and by the gendarmerie who included many of the nominees and creatures of the Committee. Every species of trick was employed against the electors and candidates of the opposition. One of the latter, while waiting at a station near Salonica for a train which would carry him to a meeting of his constituents, was attacked by roughs who bespattered him with red ink. The local gendarmes insisted that he was dangerously wounded, and, in spite of his protests, carried him three miles to an hospital, while his train steamed away. Other incidents were more tragic: near Langasa, 15 Turks, of a party which was proceeding to the town to vote for an Opposition candidate, were shot by gendarmes in consequence of their refusal to return to their homes without exercising their electoral privilege. Other persons were set upon and beaten or imprisoned by the gendarmerie. The Procureur-General of Monastir Vilayet was shot. In many of the Asiatic constituencies the order to vote for the Committee candidate was issued by the Commandant of the local gendarmerie. In consequence of these abuses the Committee Government was returned by a large majority, and was overthrown a few months later by a military movement which had more popular support than usual. The Committee of Union and Progress was temporarily driven from power. It returned to power on 23rd January 1913 by a *coup d'état*, in which Nazim Pasha, the Opposition Minister of War, was murdered. The Censorship of the press now became most rigorous; the espionage and delation which had strongly revived since the early days of the Revolutionary period became more widespread than ever, and a number of officers, suspected or accused of anti-Committee tendencies, were imprisoned, or shot in brawls by comrades who belonged to the Committee of Union and Progress organisation.

After the murder of Mahmud Shevket Pasha the Committee laid violent hands on such members of the Opposition as it could catch on the charge of complicity in that crime. Several were sentenced to death by default, and among the persons actually executed—see Chapter B—were men who were not believed by their Turkish acquaintances and friends to have had any connection whatever with the murder of the Grand Vizier.

In the autumn of 1913, the Committee of Union and Progress determined to rid itself of Sheriff Pasha, a bitter and pertinacious critic, who had several times been condemned to death, and who edited the "Meshrutiyet"—a highly polemical Opposition organ at Paris. Azmy Bey, recently notorious for his cruelties in Syria, and at the time on half-pay, in consequence of his having ordered the murder in prison of a Russian protected subject while Chief of



(12)

Police at Constantinople, was sent to Paris to arrange the elimination of Sheriff. An attempt to murder the Pasha resulted in the death of the assassin himself, but the French police just failed to arrest Azmy Bey before he crossed the frontier. Sheriff Pasha was shortly afterwards enabled to obtain copies of letters proving conclusively that Talaat, Azmy, and Damad Ismail Hafis Hakki were privy to the attempt on his life.

On the outbreak of the great European War, the Committee Extremists, who had been quiescent for a while, except in so far as the Anatolian Greeks were concerned, in consequence of the scandal caused by the Paris crime, and the affair of Abd-el-Aziz el-Masri, caused Azmy to be made Vali of Konia, and procured the execution—after trial by secret Court-Martial—of two Post Office clerks, accussed of having sold the letters mentioned above to Sheriff Pasha; as cynical a confession of guilt as was ever made.

After the outbreak of war between Turkey and the Entente Powers, all persons of any political importance whatever who criticised the conduct of the Government were regarded as no better than rebels. The Armenians were the first to feel the heavy hand of Enver Pasha and his "brilliant second" in massacre. During the summer of 1915, most of their political leaders, including nearly all the Armenian deputies, were put to death. Oskian Effendi, the Armenian ex-Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, was imprisoned. This competent official had never had any dealings with the Hintchak or Dashnakist Societies. He was, nevertheless, accused by the "Tanin"—the editor of which, Hussein Jahid Bey, passed, in the opinion of European Turcophiles such as Sir A. Block, Joint President of the Ottoman Public Debt, for being one of the most respectable of the members of the Committee—of having, in 1913, caused an Armenian inscription to be placed upon the new issue of Turkish postage stamps. This Armenian inscription was merely some "cross-hatching" which the jealous eyes of the Turkish rivals of the Minister had converted into Armenian characters! This petty incident showed how the Committee's most enlightened leaders looked upon their non-Turkish helpers.

The Arab Committee had succeeded before the war in arriving at an agreement with the Committee of Union and Progress concerning the reforms to be adopted in the Arab provinces of the Empire. But no sooner had Jemal Pasha established himself firmly in Syria than he threw off the mask of conciliation and obtained a reputation worthy of Hajjaj among the Syrian Arabs. His misdeeds have already been enumerated. Let it suffice for the present to say that he ordered the execution of such leaders of Arab thought as Seyyid Abd-el-Hamid el-Zahrawi, Abdul Wahab el Inglisi, Shukri el "Asili", Abdul Kerim el Khalil, with many others. The Turks were meanwhile kept down by a stern military government. Save at Smyrna, where Rahmi Bey—a Vali who knew too much concerning his quondam associates—was able to show a certain independence, the provincial governors were compelled to carry out the most oppressive or sanguinary decrees of the Government under pain of dismissal. Of what occurred at Constantinople, there is little information available, save that from time to time plots were discovered or imagined by the Secret Police, strengthened since the autumn of 1915 by a large German contingent, and a large number of persons were arrested, some of whom were executed, while others disappeared. These included a number of military officers, several Hojas and Dervishes, and not a few ex-members of the Committee. Ahmed Riza, though a member of that body and President of the Senate, dared protest against the massacre of the Armenians. He was instantly imprisoned by Talaat Bey's orders, and it would have gone hard with him, had not the Heir-Apparent, Yusuf Izzeddin, intervened on his behalf. A few months later Yusuf Izzeddin was murdered in his palace. A Medical Commission, composed of doctors who were almost without exception members of the Committee of Union and Progress, found that his death was due to suicide.

To complete this series of crimes, Marshal Abdullah Pasha, the unsuccessful but ill-supported Commander of the Turkish Eastern Army in the Balkan War, was murdered by two soldiers in the streets of Constantinople, and no man durst touch his slayers.



E.—The Committee of Union and Progress and the Moslem Clergy.

Many Europeans, to whom members of the Committee of Union and Progress at the commencement of its political supremacy spoke more openly than to their fellow Turks, were disagreeably impressed by the hostility which they manifested towards religion and the Ulema. On more than one occasion during the first months of the Revolution was witnessed the strange sight of European Christians—among whom may be mentioned Sir Bampfylde Fuller that stout friend of the Moslems of India—urging the leaders of the Committee for the sake of their country to abstain from all speech and language that might excite the hostility of believing Moslems. But these warnings were in vain. The open contempt shown by the Committee officers for religious observances was one of the causes of the military mutiny of April 13, 1909. During its suppression on April 24, 1909, bands of Bulgar Komitajis of the worst type led by those notorious ruffians Sandansky and Panitza, were accompanied by Turkish officers to the Mosque of Mohamed the Conqueror and having forced its doors shot a number of Hodjas and theological students who were within. These men may in some cases have been implicated in the revolt against the Committee, but others were unquestionably innocent people who had fled to the mosques to escape the dangers of the streets in which artillery and machine guns were being freely used. After the triumph of the Committee of Union and Progress forces, Hussein Jahid, editor of the "Tanin" and at a later date Ottoman Representative on the Council of the Public Debt remarked to a European journalist "We have been taught that it is very necessary to recruit Christians for the army. They can be used to shoot Hodjas when Moslems may mutiny."

The experience of 1909 taught the Committee leaders little. They did nothing, for example, to check the rapid growth of sexual immorality in Constantinople, which, under their rule, became one of the chief centres of the infamous white Slave Traffic. Austrian and German Jews and Jewesses were allowed to open "hotels" which were little better than brothels and to take special measures to attract Moslem deputies and officers to these dens. The sailors of the fleet which visited Salonica in 1910 were regaled with pornographic cinematograph shows. Similar performances were given at Constantinople and soldiers were allowed to attend them in spite of the protests of the Ulema who were joined by several local European newspapers. These protests had no effect—till the Colonels of Regiments protested against the demoralisation of their men by these disgusting exhibitions.

The appointment of Musa Kiazim Effendi as Sheikh ul Islam in 1911 caused further ill feeling among the Ulema. The new Sheikh ul Islam gave great dissatisfaction by his unorthodox and arbitrary decisions and when he eventually fell with Hakki Pasha great relief was expressed. After this the Committee leaders for a while left the higher clergy alone and sent itinerant preachers working in their interests to the provinces among them Obeidullah Effendi, the notorious author of Kum-i-Jedid (The new nation)—a work which Moslems of many different shades of opinion have united to describe as blasphemous.

Obeidullah deserves more than cursory mention. Though saved from Abdul Hamid's police by British friends, he became a violent and prejudiced Anglophobe after his return to Turkey and an eloquent exponent of the theory that the Kaiser was the sole friend of Turkey and Islam. But it was as author of Kum-i-Jedid that the M. P. for Aidin caused most scandal. The following passages from this work are sufficiently indicative of its tenour.

After describing all Moslems who are under the rule of Christian Governments as Atheists, Obeidullah makes a statement which is astounding even to a non-Moslem "the true Moslems are those who fought in the Balkan War led by Enver, Essad, Riza Jaird and Ra'uf the peace of God and the prayer be upon them—and the rest of the members of the Committee of Union and Progress". Again after describing the Turks as a holy race and upbraiding them with their veneration of Arab righteous men such as El Gilani and El Badawi he proceeds with reference to the Turkish troops "The horses



of these troops are more noble and by far more holy than all nobility and holiness of the Sheriffs and Chiefs of the other nations whom you revere".

It is not surprising that when Obeidullah preached on these lines at S. Sophia, his sermons aroused the indignation of certain members of the congregation whose protests were silenced by the police!

After the murder of Mahmud Shevket Pasha in June 1913 the last check on unmitigated Committee rule was abolished. Hairi Bey was appointed Sheikh-ul-Islam and held this post until the summer of 1915. His methods have been much criticised. The fact that he took no steps as Sheikh-ul-Islam to prevent the conversion of "Wakfs" (pious foundations) created for purely religious purposes into cinema—shows and "Turanian beer saloons" was brought against him by his opponents but his fall was to his honour. He had the independence and the temerity to criticise his colleagues' policy of massacre of Armenians; he likewise protested against the execution of several Moslem preachers by the orders of Enver's Court-Martials.

These preachers had denounced the German alliance and criticised the German Emperor from the pulpit. The Government had them arrested and sent them before the Sheri Courts to be tried on charges of treason. The cases were dismissed on the ground that the Sheri Courts were not competent to deal with criticisms of a non-Moslem ruler or a non-Moslem alliance. The Government retorted by re-arresting these preachers trying them in the Civil Courts and condemning them to death in spite of Hairi Bey's protests.

At the same time symptoms of a strongly anti-German spirit became marked in the schools for the training of "Hojas" and "Kadis" and in the Schools at Fatih all of which come under the direct supervision of the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The pupils had had reason to believe that candidates for Government posts from these schools would be less favourably regarded than those from the non-religious schools recently established by the Young Turks under German direction. The Minister of Evkaf (pious foundations) endeavoured to discharge teachers, who had encouraged the pupils to protest. Hairi Bey protested. The German Advisers to the Ministry of Education demanded that special religious training should henceforward be deleted from the Curriculum of the higher schools for the training of officials. The Government decided in principle to support the Germans and further enacted that all cases other than those in which the status of Moslems were involved, should be tried by the Civil Courts. Hairi Bey protested against this further reduction of the powers of the Sheikh-ul-Islamate and resigned. The supple Musa Kiazim forthwith took his place.

Since then there have been further executions of Ulema and deportations of theological students and senior members of the Sarykli (turbaned) class have been frequent. The better elements among the Turkish clergy dislike the war and the policy that made it. They realise that their influence is waning; that their hold on the Turkish Youth is being gradually relaxed; that religious men of good counsel and of liberal ideas are not wanted by the Committee of Union and Progress, which desires to create a new clergy, manned by absurdly fanatical "nationalists" and led by irreligious time-servers. But they cannot do more than protest and open protest becomes more dangerous daily. As for the Arab Ulema, we know how Jemal Pasha has dealt with the best of them.

